

# Peace News

No. 1,092

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## Unarmed defence KING-HALL TALKS WITH MPs

COMMANDER SIR STEPHEN KING-HALL was expected to meet Members of Parliament at the House of Commons on Wednesday evening as Peace News went to press to discuss his proposals for unarmed defence.

A letter from him appeared in the Manchester Guardian on Monday urging all interested in further consideration of non-violent resistance as a national defence policy to get in touch with him at 162 Buckingham Palace Road, London, S.W.1.

The Peace News discussion on the possibilities of unarmed defence sparked by his article "Reflections on Defence" (still available from PN) continues in this issue. Two non-pacifists write on page six on his proposal that a Royal Commission or other responsible body be appointed by the Government to consider the question whether unarmed resistance can defend a democratic way of life and if so what the plan should be.

Reginald Thompson, war correspondent and author of "Cry Korea" and "The Eighty Five Days," writes that he "wholeheartedly supports" Commander King-Hall's proposal:

"Non-violent resistance may be the only way out, and the need is urgent in the extreme," he declares. "In the event of a policy of non-violent resistance to an enemy becoming the policy of this country I would take my oath of loyalty to it," he affirms.

Commander Thomas Fox-Pitt also supports the idea of a Royal Commission. Agreeing that the means to nuclear war should be renounced, he rejects a fully unarmed policy, advocating instead of either non-violent resistance or full military defence, preparations for guerilla warfare after occupation on the "pattern of the Algerians and the Cypriots."

Next week in PN, Mr. Sydney Silverman, MP, renowned for his work against capital punishment, writes in support of the King-Hall proposal.

### In London tomorrow

Tomorrow, Saturday, schoolboys from one of England's most famous public schools will catch a glimpse of a "No more war" march through Harrow, a West London suburb.

Banners and posters with an emphasis on the moral issues involved in opposition to war and the manufacture and testing of nuclear weapons will be carried. The Peace Pledge Union will welcome anyone able to join the procession which assembles in Fairholme Road (near car park and station), off Station Road, at 2.45 p.m., and which will be followed by an open-air meeting.

Harrow is 20 minutes by fast train from Baker Street.

Professor Dame Kathleen Lonsdale will be answering questions at an "Any Questions" session in the evening. The day's programme is announced on page three.

To the south of London, at Epsom, there will be two showings of the film "Shadow of Hiroshima" on Saturday evening (announced in the PN Diary on page 9).

# Must it spread to other nations? THE PEOPLE CAN END THIS H-BOMB RACE

### An editorial

THE explosion of the British hydrogen bomb near Christmas Island punctuated the end of an age. Mankind cannot go back to the simple acceptance of the pre-H-bomb world, nor even to the time when only Russia and America threatened mankind with radioactive extinction.

We are now threatened with a world in which every State is armed with the ability to destroy mankind. Already in Germany, Sweden and Switzerland there are ominous first steps being taken in what would become a human suicide race.

Each major crisis results in middle ground disappearing. The choice must be made between opposite poles. Either we, consciously or by default, choose preparations for the cremation of mankind or we must take the opposite way.

There seem to us to be six crucial changes

if mankind is to muster the ability to choose life:

1 Decisions by individuals, groups and society as a whole, must now be made on the basis of moral rightness, rather than expedient resort to threats and violence.

2 People must generate the ability to force Governments to bend to their will. As people attack the most obviously evil expressions of the general threat to humanity (as in the case of Suez and Hungary) they will increase "the power of the people"—a power which comes from determination and an ability to implement it by non-violent action. The Governments will be forced to give way on one issue after another—beginning from their weakest points—to abolish nuclear tests, then nuclear weapons, and finally war itself.

### NUCLEAR WAR

3 People must be brought to see the inter-relationship of nuclear weapons and "conventional" arms. People must realise both (a) that the nature of nuclear war differs as much from the total war of World War II as the latter did from wars with bows and arrows, and (b) that nuclear war is the logical extension of total war. We can, however, no more go back to pre-nuclear war than it was possible in 1944 to go back to bows and arrows. What is ultimately at stake is war itself.

4 Men who are not primarily concerned with moral issues—most men—are not going to give up the means of war and violent resistance unless they have confidence in alternative unarmed methods of resisting evil and solving conflicts. It is, therefore, important that active non-violent methods of attacking injustice be developed, practised, studied and analysed. Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's call for serious consideration of methods of unarmed resistance as a national defence policy is both a demonstration of this and a challenge which must be met.

### NON-VIOLENT SOCIETY

5 We must grasp a vision of a new non-violent, creative, free and just society which will not lead us

● ON BACK PAGE

□ ON BACK PAGE



Commander  
Fox-Pitt  
See page 6

## Father Huddleston replies to Lord Cherwell

"THE idea that peace—in our time or any other—can rest upon the threat or the fear or the ownership of naked force," said Father Trevor Huddleston in a letter to The Times last week, was the most profound principle involved in the testing of the H-bomb.

He was replying to a letter from Lord Cherwell which posed the question "Would you rather face a probable war within a few years with its scores of millions of casualties or develop a deterrent which may well prevent it?"

Replying Father Huddleston said: "To such a question there can, for the Christian (individual or country) be but one answer: develop a deterrent."

"But the assumption that colossal and indefinitely increasing 'physical' power is a deterrent is an assumption which, surely, every Christian must most vigorously challenge. For this is precisely one of those 'moral or ethical matters' upon which even Lord Cherwell would concede the right of the Church to speak."

### MORAL POWER

"To the Christian the principle which is abhorrent in the testing of the hydrogen bomb is not only its possible genetic and other effects upon the human race. It is a profounder principle than that. It is the idea that peace—in our time or any other—can rest upon the threat or the fear or the ownership of naked force."

"We have reached 'the end of our time,' as Berdyaev called it. With the hydrogen bomb the believers in power must either reduce our world to chaos (which is the only possible conclusion of a hydrogen bomb arms-race) or recognize that power no longer remains of any value if it is confined within 'physical' limits."

"What is needed, in fact, is not the constant testing of bigger and better hydrogen bombs but an act of faith which states quite simply that a Christian country must rely upon different weapons altogether: 'the weakness of God is stronger than men,' and moral and spiritual power is the only deterrent worth trusting."

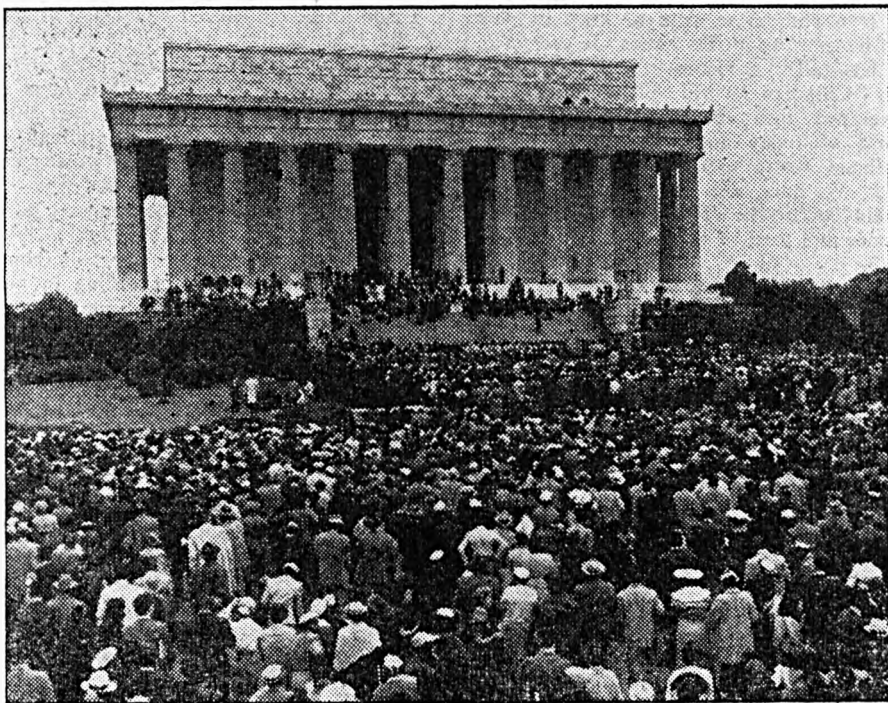
In another letter to The Times on the same day, Professor Haddow, the distinguished cancer research director, writing of the "problematical increase in suffering (from the radiation resulting from the tests) on the one hand, and on the other hand the certain and vastly greater suffering of another world war," said:

"Many do not by any means believe (as Lord Cherwell would appear to do), that this choice is the only one before us."

Admitted that peace could be maintained by a system of mutual threats, still we must press for something better."

Wayland Young in a third letter, pointed out that Lord Cherwell's argument in favour of the British H-bomb "was based wholly on the assumption that Britain's possession of it made a nuclear war less likely."

"But Britain is one Power among many," wrote Wayland Young. "Does Lord Cherwell believe that if France, Sweden, and so on down the line to Egypt, Syria, and Israel have the bomb, too, this will make a nuclear



A general view of the crowd attending the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom in Washington, DC, estimated at over 25,000 by our reporter (writing on page 5). Negro leaders urged non-violent resistance in the struggle for equality. In the background is the Lincoln Memorial.



Must we go on destroying each other?

# MAN'S PROBLEM AND THE ANSWER

## By Dr. Martin Niemöller

How can we live together in this world without destroying each other? Is there really no hope of preventing the extinction, sooner or later, of all mankind? The actual situation in which men and nations find themselves today suggests that this is indeed the case.

That it is due to man's efforts to solve his problems by his own far-from-perfect "wisdom" is the judgment of Dr. Martin Niemöller. But he sees also the way out of this problem: to listen instead to the voice of God, particularly as it speaks to us in the Bible.

Here are his diagnosis and his remedy as given at the recent annual meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society, for which he flew specially from Germany to London.

WHEN a boy, more than fifty years ago, I used to spend part of my holidays on a Westphalian farm. After lunch my uncle would say to the youngest farmhand: "Pass me the book." There was no question which book he meant: he read to all the household the daily chapter from the Bible.

A few years later I stayed with a lawyer's family in England and on the first night after supper he told his son: "Hand me the book," and read to the family the chapter for the day.

In what we called the Christian countries there was no doubt about the significance of the Book; it went without saying: "Man shall not live by bread alone but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." A time followed when men began to emancipate themselves from this old tradition. The true bread of life was no longer valued as it was in the old days. By now there were many books on the shelves on many subjects.

### BEST-SELLER

The Bible was covered with dust and used only on special occasions. Yet it remained what it was and had been ever since printing was invented—the greatest best-seller in the world. But the demand came from outside the White and Christian men's world. Christianity became more and more an export business, while Christians themselves, preferring worldly goods, lost a good deal of their insight into their spiritual heritage and tried to live by bread alone.

In their vanity, men came to believe they could run the world quite well their own way. This illusion did not last long, however, and we have reached a stage when once more the truth of the Bible is confirmed: "Ye cannot serve God and mammon." Mammon has won, and the result is materialism, which is not confined to the eastern world.

Materialism is preparing and heading for its own end. Man tries to keep it back; but he must admit his hands are empty and he has fallen a victim of his own vanity. Our Christian world of yesterday has developed into the secular, materialistic world of today and will become an annihilated world tomorrow unless we turn back. We have been convinced that changes would be for the better, looking with confidence and trust to what we called progress.

### NIGHTMARE

Now this whole scene is different. Trust has turned to anxiety, confidence to misgiving; and progress has become the nightmare of our generation. We are filled with fear and apprehension when we try to lift the veil of the future. We have lost our bearings, not knowing what course to take. What is wrong?

It is time to remember the Book and to listen to the Voice with which this book wants to speak to us. "Oh Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself; but in Me is thy hope." The Bible has lost its central place and importance; the voice of God is silenced and we are left to ourselves, to our own ingenuity, to solve our problems and overcome our difficulties. Man left to himself—that is the world today.

But we no longer assume that this means progress and success and happiness; we are

afraid that we shall end in misery and failure and despair. We have failed in all our efforts to do better and find a way out by ourselves. We are trying hard, but are faced with nothing but our own impotence. Life itself has become a problem.

### HOW CAN WE LIVE IN THIS WORLD?

How can we live together with each other without destroying each other—individuals and peoples, nations and races? Is there any solution? Do we have to abandon all hope? We see mankind doomed to extinction.

One thing is certain: we have no time to waste on minor things. The question is whether the Bible has any significance in this actual situation. Can man live by "the word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God?" If not, let us leave it; but I for one am sure that the Bible really gives the one answer we need, if only we listen to the voice of God, who here wants to speak to us human creatures, showing what his intentions for us are.

Man is not sovereign; only God, the creator, is sovereign; and he will not allow man to follow his own selfish ways, for they end in defeat and death.

God created man in his image that man might be his loving and obedient child. Man was created "to love God and thy neighbour as thyself." This, and only this, makes humanity human. There is no doubt about this, from the first page to the last. "He has shown thee, O man, what is good: to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God."

### BASIC ERROR

The Bible knows and reveals the origin of all human misery: man wanting to be sovereign, wanting to frame his own destiny and to dominate his fellow man and forget about God. Man, the sinner, is working destruction when he wants to build; achieving death when he wants to bring life; achieving annihilation when he wants to create hope.

I am firmly convinced that this witness of the Bible is true and that it really hits the point. Our reaction to this truth could be—and normally is: since, then, man is man's worst enemy, we must protect ourselves by fighting with all our determination. This is making things worse and worse; yet still we cannot help behaving this way.

We should like to love God and try hard to obey him as far as possible; but to love our neighbour when he becomes our competitor and enemy—that, according to our understanding, would mean suicide.

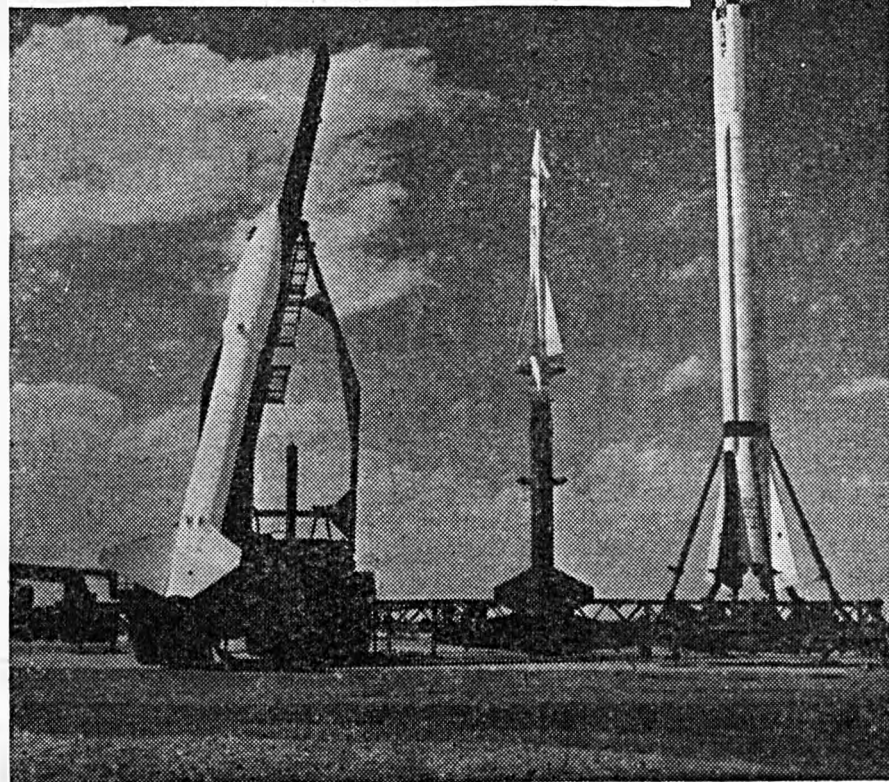
At this very point the authority of the Bible meets our doubt. We want to prove that we are entitled to hate our enemy and fight him because he is God's enemy; but we cannot call on the Bible as a witness to this, so it is neglected and covered with dust. For here is a very clear answer to this tendency of ours: God has no enemy whom we ought to fight. He fights them in his own way: overcoming evil by doing good; overcoming hatred by pouring out love; overcoming enmity by working reconciliation.

### DECIDE NOW

God has solved the problem with which we are struggling: the problem of how men can live with each other as children of God in this world.

We are faced with an actual decision: are we going to allow him to break through

Three types of United States guided missiles: Honest John, a long-range artillery rocket; Nike, which is designed to track and destroy military planes; and Corporal, a long-range missile used against surface targets. Photo: US Army



our self-reliance with his merciful love? If so, then the vicious circle is broken. For as he loved us, we ought also to love one another. "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you." This commandment of Jesus Christ becomes the golden rule of our life.

Do we Christians listen to this message? Do we follow the Master? The Book demands the interpretation and affirmation of its message by the Christian community, by the Church—especially in the modern world, which is critical because the Church fails to give this interpretation and affirmation convincingly.

We ought to wipe the dust from the Book and listen to its message anew, for it is through us that God wants to renew the face of the earth. "Be ye doers of the

Word, and not hearers only." "Blessed are those who hear the word of God and keep it."

Reported by Constance Willis

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# FOUND: A LETTER FROM GANDHI

Written while on a deputation to London in 1909

The second letter written by Mahatma Gandhi to Count Leo Tolstoy, the great writer and exponent of pacifism, was recently discovered in a book of Tolstoy's library at his home, Yasnaya Polyana, in Russia. The letter indicates the significance Gandhi attached to his method of Satyagraha (even at this early stage of its development), the stress he laid on the principle of non-violence and the qualities of courage and endurance which were involved in this South African struggle. The full text of this letter has been provided by courtesy of Soviet News.

GANDHI left Cape Town en route to England in 1909 at the height of the Satyagraha Campaign in South Africa. Accompanied by Sheth Haji Habib, Gandhi had come to represent the Indian community of South Africa, presenting their case against the Government and appealing to prominent British individuals and public opinion to resist proposals for the uniting of the three States in South Africa. The Indians saw these proposals as a new threat to the Indian community.

The eight year Satyagraha Campaign in South Africa began in 1906 but it is doubtful if it would ever have begun had not Gandhi, a young lawyer trained in London come to the Transvaal in 1893 to take up employment with Messrs. Dada Abdulla.

He soon experienced the contempt with which the Asian races were treated in South Africa and inspired the Indian community to resist the repressive laws which threatened to reduce them to slavery.

## "Black Act"

Under his leadership the Indians became organised to offer Satyagraha against the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance which was introduced before the Legislative Council in 1906.

This law, the "Black Act" as it became known, provided that every Indian, man, woman or child, must register his or her name with the Registrar of Asiatics and take out a certificate of registration. During registration the Indians were to be finger printed as a means to identification.

Opposition was organised on a large scale. All roads leading to the offices of registration were picketed though no force was used against any Indian wishing to register. Few had registered by the prescribed date. Arrests began and rapidly became numerous, Gandhi also being imprisoned.

The "Black Act" became law in 1907, the same year the Immigrants Restriction Act was passed. This act provided in effect that no more Indian settlers should be allowed to enter the Transvaal.

Throughout South Africa the colour bar was maintained rigidly.

The non-violent stand which Gandhi inspired the Indian Community to take against these laws brought fines, imprisonment and deportation.

## Deputation

In 1909 a new threat to the Indian community arose, the Boers and the British were discussing the possibility of a union of States in South Africa which at this time was composed of the Transvaal, Natal and the Orange Free State.

The Boers and the British had already sent a deputation to London to commence negotiations. The Indian community realised that the proposed union would mean even worse repression for them and decided to send a deputation of their own so that their voice should be heard during the talks.

Gandhi and Sheth Haji Mabib were asked to go.

While in London, Gandhi made every effort to make known the Indians' case. He met every journalist, Member of Parliament and the Lords it was possible to meet. Lord Ampthill was especially helpful and it was through him that the views of the South African deputation were conveyed to Gandhi.

Despite Gandhi's negotiations the Southtask awaited him.

## From M. K. Gandhi to Count Leo Tolstoy

Westminster Palace Hotel,  
4 Victoria Street,  
London, W.C.  
10.11.1909.

Dear Sir,

I beg to tender my thanks for your registered letter in connection with the letter addressed to a Hindu, and with the matters that I deal with in my letter to you.

Having heard about your failing health I refrained in order to save you the trouble, from sending my acknowledgment, knowing that a written expression of my thanks was a superfluous formality, but Mr. Aylmer Maude, whom I have now been able to meet reassured me that you were keeping very good health indeed and that unfailingly and regularly attended to your correspondence every morning.

It was very glad news to me, and it encourages me to write to you further about matters which are, I know, of the greatest importance according to your teaching.

I beg to send you herewith a copy of a book written by a friend—an Englishman—who is at present in South Africa, in connection with my life, insofar as it has a bearing on the struggle with which I am still connected, and to which my life is dedicated. As I am very anxious to engage your active interest and sympathy, I thought that it would not be considered by you as out of the way for me to send you the book.

In my opinion, this struggle of the Indians in the Transvaal is the greatest of modern times, inasmuch as it has been idealised both as to the goal as also the methods adopted to reach the goal. I am not aware of a struggle, in which the participants are not to derive any personal advantage at the end of it, and in which 50 per cent of the persons affected have

African deputation were ready to accept only the minor demands of the Indian community but refused to repeal any of the repressive acts.

Sheth Haji Habib accepted this offer on behalf of the larger and wealthier section of the Indian community though he added that later the Indians would continue the struggle because of the principles involved. Gandhi, however, speaking for the poorer minority politely refused the offer and replied that he would continue the struggle.

Shortly after writing the letter to Count Tolstoy, Gandhi returned to South Africa, there to found Tolstoy Farm in which many of the families of the jail-going Satyagrahis were accommodated.

In 1914 the Satyagraha Campaign in South Africa was concluded when the Indians Relief Bill was passed by the Union of South Africa Government. Most of the principle wrongs were redressed and Gandhi was free to sail for England on his way back to India where an even greater

undergone great suffering and trial for the sake of a principle.

It has not been possible for me to advertise the struggle as much as I should like. You command, possibly, the widest public today. If you are satisfied as to the facts you will find set forth in Mr. Doke's book, and if you consider that the conclusions I have arrived at are justified by the facts, may I ask you to use your influence in any manner you think fit to popularise the movement?

If it succeeds, it will be not only a triumph of religion, love and truth over irreligion, hatred and falsehood, but it is highly likely to serve as an example to the millions in India and to people in other parts of the world who may be down-trodden, and will certainly go a great way towards breaking up the party of violence, at least in India.

If we hold out to the end, as I think we would, I entertain not the slightest doubt as to the ultimate success; and your encouragement in the way suggested by you can only strengthen us in our resolve.

The negotiations that were going on for a settlement of the question have practically fallen through, and together with my colleague I return to South Africa this week, and invite imprisonment. I may add that my son has happily joined me in the struggle, and is now undergoing imprisonment with hard labour for six months. This is his fourth imprisonment in the course of the struggle.

If you would be so good as to reply to this letter, may I ask you to address your reply to me at Johannesburg, S.A. Box 6522.

Hoping that this will find you in good health, I remain

Your obedient servant,

M. K. Gandhi.

Count Leo Tolstoy,  
Yasnaya Polyana,  
Russia.

## REFUSE GUIDED MISSILES, URGE DANES

A RESOLUTION calling on the Danish people to refuse the offer of American guided missiles and a second calling on the Government of Denmark to work for the complete stoppage of H-bomb tests and production of A and H-bombs were passed by 85 members who took part in the Annual General Meeting of Aldrig mere Krig, the Danish section of the War Resisters' International, from April 21-22.

It was decided to arrange a Danish-German border gathering on July 5-8 at Bad Glucksburg and a Scandinavian summer-school next year in Jutland.

The chairman speaking of the year's work reported a small increase in membership, assistance given to conscientious objectors and a report of a committee on conscientious objection in many countries and the

history of the alternative service law in Denmark.

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May 31, 1957—PEACE NEWS—3

## WE'RE 21 NEXT WEEK

NEXT week Peace News is 21 years old.

There were many who feared we would not survive the first few weeks. In 1940 it seemed unlikely that we should see the year out. In 1947 the closing down of the paper was discussed.

In 1957 we can report that we are still very much alive—even if Picture Post has gone and the Daily Herald and the News Chronicle find their future the subject of public discussion.

Twenty-one next week! Of course you'll want to celebrate with us.

We hope, if you can get to London, you will come to our Birthday Party at Friends House on June 6.

And, whether you can get there or not, that you will make it the occasion for a special gift to the Peace News Fund. We have a difficult task before us to raise

£2999 by Dec. 31

## THE EDITOR

Contributions since May 10: £51 7s. 4d.  
Total since January 1, 1957: £511 4s. 10d.  
Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged: from Liverpool, £1; Fellow Traveller, Newcastle-on-Tyne, £1; Winchester, 10s.; Tumble, £1.

In a fortnight's time shall I be able to announce that there has been a bumper response to our birthday appeal? I hope so.

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in

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Buffet tea 5 p.m.

Any questions 6.30 p.m.

Panel: Stuart Morris, Owen Taylor,  
Rev. Owen Butler, Prof. KATHLEEN  
LONSDALE

Question Master: Sybil Morrison

Organised by the

Peace Pledge Union



## Tories in "revolt"

THE Conservatives who in recent months have been resigning from their Party, or hovering on the brink of resignation, have not provided an edifying spectacle.

Sir Edward Boyle resigned from the Government under Sir Anthony Eden's leadership on the immorality of its action in invading Egypt, but found it consistent with his outraged sense of what is right to take office a few weeks later in the Government of Mr. Macmillan, whose members had shared responsibility for the Egyptian aggression and continued to defend it.

Mr. Julian Amery, on the other hand, had acclaimed what the Government had done in Egypt and profoundly disagreed with its tardy acceptance of United Nations requirements. He also found it possible to serve in the Government whose action he condemned, and he is now a colleague of Sir Edward Boyle.

Of the Suez Group, Captain Waterhouse, whose Blimpish clamour had done so much to create the unhealthy political climate that had made Sir Anthony Eden's damaging mistake possible, finds himself capable of standing aside—still fuming of course—while eight of his colleagues ask to be relieved of the Conservative Party whip, while taking very good care to keep their line of retreat open for the time when they can unostentatiously accept it again.

## What principle?

NOR has Lord Salisbury made a more impressive figure.

He resigned because he held that the Government was weakening in its imperialist suppression of the Cypriot desire for self-determination, and last week initiated a debate to express his disapproval of the most recent phase of the Government's handling of the Suez business. His speech was a miserable exhibition of disingenuousness.

Anybody listening to it who was unacquainted with the events of last year would have reached the conclusion that the seizure of the Suez Canal by Colonel Nasser's Government was something that had occurred after the French and British Governments had intervened against Egypt at the time of the Israeli attack.

He was thus able to treat the invasion of Egypt as something that had nothing to do with the Suez dispute. "We all know that we acted simply to stop the war between Israel and Egypt."

We know quite otherwise, and so does Lord Salisbury. His appeal for greatness in defence of principle seems pretty sickening following a claim of this kind.

## The crime and the sentence

WITH the development of the Socialist Movement there used to be discussions on what we called the "technique of revolution." This technique consisted in an understanding of the key points of control in society and the development of ruthless measures to secure their mastery in the course of a revolutionary uprising. It was a completely military technique applied to the problems of control during a revolutionary transformation; and of course, as with all military operations there had to be the temporary subordination of all moral considerations to the needs of victory.

The Russian Communists developed this technique in action and were successful in its use. Clearly, however, there is no compelling reason why a "technique of revolution" should be used only for the achievement of Socialist ends. The German Nazi Party were also able to apply it, and in certain aspects they were able to improve upon their Russian predecessors.

A little more light has recently been thrown on the Nazi development of the technique of revolution in the trials of the two former SS officers—Sepp Dietrich and Michael Lippert—who have been sentenced as a consequence of their participation in Hitler's "night of the long knives" in 1934. They were convicted of having participated in the killing of a number of SA leaders, including the SA Chief of Staff, Ernst Röhm.

Their defence was that they were putting down a planned rebellion against Hitler, and this is doubtless the truth. There was nothing in what they were doing on the night of the long knives that was more



essentially criminal than the activities that both the SS and the SA had been engaged in earlier.

However, the Court had to reach a decision in the matter and based it on the fact that there was no trial of Röhm and his collaborators. The decision of Hitler had been substituted for a court verdict and the two men now on trial had been guilty of accepting this and acting upon it.

The incongruity of the sentence pronounced (18 months' imprisonment) is the measure of the Court's sense of dilemma. Already before our present age, when revo-

lutionary change has become linked up with the world power struggle and may consequently bring us through violence on to the road to general destruction, it had already been demonstrated that political change by means of violence produced a situation where the evil engendered outweighed the good.

## What is political liberalism?

AN impressively signed letter has appeared in the Press appealing for financial support for the Liberal Party.

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## THE SOLDIER'S HONOUR

AMONG the exposures of the inhumanities of the French military and "police" operations in Algeria is a book by M. Pierre-Henri Simon, "Contre la Torture" (Against Torture). It is a noble book, affording a valuable opportunity to consider the dilemma of the soldierly type of man who is repelled by what is being done in war.

Towards the end he provides a group of testimonies as to some of the horrifying and obscene things that have been done by French soldiers and police in Algeria. (The Englishman cannot, of course, read of these things with any sense of national superiority, because he is aware that there are similar testimonies as to things done by the British in Korea.)

Some of M. Simon's material will be examined by the Commission of Enquiry set up by M. Mollet's Government if, in its lackadaisical progress, it ever reaches that point.

The greater part of the book, however, is a conscientious struggle to set out the moral limitations that should control the actions of the soldier and to a more restricted extent the police.

M. Simon accepts war, and even that it is justifiable that the French should be making war in Algeria.



THE book expresses, we believe, the views of many soldiers, and we feel a great bond of sympathy with men like these who find the courage to express themselves. It has to be said, however, that the book retains its nobility only by the evasion of issues that must be faced.

M. Simon, for instance, feels moral horror of war begun at Hiroshima, and the later development of destructive power "of which the calculated and avowed result is no longer the destruction of the hostile army, but the instantaneous obliteration of the enemy cities."

A single atom bomb, to say nothing of an H-bomb, can be responsible for more excruciating suffering to a greater number of innocent people, including children, than all the brutalities (including the torture of a boy of 13) of which M. Simon's collection of testimonies are a sample.



THE crux of the matter is set out, we believe, in the reply that was given by a young French army chaplain who came back wounded from the war in Indo-China. M. Simon asked him if there was any truth in the stories of torture that were also being heard in connection with that campaign. The young priest replied:

"Yes, it is true; and it is inevitable. This is an aspect of the type of war that our lads are waging out there. They cannot act otherwise."

In response to M. Simon's protest the young soldier-priest continued:

"Suppose you are engaged in the brush, in command of a section with your lads behind you. The Viets are around you, invisible. It is necessary to know what they are up to, where they are lying in wait for you. It is a matter of life and death for the 40 Frenchmen for whom you are responsible. Well, if you have a chance to learn what it is necessary that you should know by arresting a woman of the village and piercing her hand with a nail until she speaks, would you hesitate to do it? I say you wouldn't, and you would be right not to hesitate."

Apart from the fact that it is a woman that is involved in this young priest's example, there is hardly a soldier who has spent a considerable period in action who does not know of a number of comparable things which he is expected to forget if he can and at any rate to keep his mouth shut.



WHAT this priest said not only shocked M. Simon but disturbed and shook him. The conclusion he reached was the following:

"The situation does not excuse everything, and what makes the force of principles is that they are principles: that is to say, they are expressions of an absolute that outweigh any consideration of circumstance or interest; if not, there is no longer any law or any morality."

We honour the soldier who is revolted at the evil things that M. Simon describes. We are also drawn to the soldier who feels A-bombs and H-bombs are not consistent with his soldierly honour. These must come to realise, however, that the basis for the moral absolute they are seeking lies today more than ever in the refusal to destroy human life and the consequent renunciation of war.

Among the signatories are Sir Norman Angell, formerly of the Labour Party, Neville Cardus, Rose Macaulay, Peter Ustinov and other distinguished literary figures.

They say that the country needs an infusion into political life of an element that is lacking. They find that element in Liberalism, which is as good a word for what is needed as any other, and they claim that the "appointed instrument" to supply it is the Liberal Party. To make this effective, "all that it requires is money."

This is a blindly optimistic view. Some of these distinguished signatories should try their hands at setting out in clearly understandable terms the broad lines of social philosophy and social policy that distinguishes the Liberal Party from the other two Parties. We venture to predict that they will get some disappointing surprises in the responses if they seek official Liberal assistance in doing this.

It is difficult enough in all conscience to distinguish between what the Labour Party and the Conservative Party stand for. It is even more difficult to set out in readily comprehensible terms what differentiates Liberal Party views from both.

What is needed today is a policy that can be clearly recognised by the puzzled voter as seeking the reversal of the increasing tendency to subordinate the individual to centralised power. We believe that if the Liberal Party were to set forth such a policy without hedging it around with so many qualifications that it cannot be distinguished from what the other two Parties are saying, it would attract the kind of support that is much more important than money gifts.

## The Editor's

## NOTEBOOK

### Convinced Lieutenant

I PERSONALLY am now convinced that pacifism is a winner," a Flight-Lieutenant declares in a recent letter to the editor of the Hampshire Herald.

Saying that he had experienced both the bayonetting of a soldier and the bombing of innocent civilians, and is "very sick of recent warmongering and repressive military action against colonial subjects," Flt.-Lt. Kann suggested that the Franco-British "balance of power concept has been the cause of all the recurring wars in many parts of the world."

### Peace and the Justice

DONALD DICKINSON, courageous Salisbury Justice of the Peace, who a few years ago chaired a big public meeting in the Market Square of this military city in protest against the manufacture of bacteriological weapons, has been active in the campaign against H-bomb tests.

With Labour youth leader, Ted Rasey, he addressed a well-attended meeting in the village of Redlynch, which later sent a resolution urging the abolition of tests to their MP and the Prime Minister.

It is when the towns and villages throw in their weight behind the more striking demonstrations in the big cities that a campaign really makes itself felt.

I heard a letter from that stalwart village pacifist, C. William Hope Gill, of Four Marks, Hants, read on the BBC recently. Now I notice another letter from him in a South of England newspaper.

Isolated though the writers may feel, this job of public relations carried on by pen and typewriter from many a cottage and lonely farm house is of tremendous value today.

### BBC and the H-tests

WHILE one has to register a black mark against the BBC for failing to broadcast Dr. Schweitzer's appeal for the ending of nuclear weapon tests (they have a tape recording of it in London), they have given excellent coverage in "Woman's Hour" to the protests being made against the tests.

I am told that recently they gave a very good eye-witness account of the black sash march.

Another feature, which impressed Americans in Britain, was the hour-long programme in which James Klugman, Communist Party Education Officer, led a discussion by the "51 Club" on Communism.

It was clearly a programme motivated by the desire to "let truth prevail."



# PRAYER PILGRIMAGE FOR FREEDOM

## Dr. Homer Jack reports from Washington

IN desperation the Negro people in America are petitioning to God rather than pressuring Congress to lessen tensions and increase gains in civil rights. More than 25,000 Negroes and whites participated in a prayer pilgrimage for freedom in Washington on May 17, the third anniversary of the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public (tax supported) schools.

### 220 mile walk

The pilgrimage was jointly called by A. Philip Randolph, only Negro Vice-President of the United American Labour Movement, Roy Wilkins, head of the National Association for the Advancement of the Coloured People (NAACP), and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Gandhian effort in Alabama against bus segregation. This was a new coalition of Negro leadership, with labour and the church uniting with the NAACP which has been under severe attack in the South and itself may have come to the end of the road in its emphasis on legal action to end segregation and discrimination.

The pilgrimage has been consistently underplayed by the American Press. It made news, however, when a young Negro preacher, Vinoba Bhavé-like, began walking the 220 miles from New Jersey Washington. While he was received en route by a Secretary of the Governor of Maryland, he also met with severe discriminations in that same State. Determined to continue, he said that "if the people in Montgomery could walk for a whole year, I can surely walk for five days."

The pilgrimage also made news when it received a virtual endorsement by the Communist Daily Worker. This is a kiss of death, which probably the Communists wanted to administer to any prayer-centered movement. The leaders said they never invited the Communists to support the pilgrimage and did not want their participation. Trying to head off incidents, they said that the pilgrimage would begin and end with the three-hour prayer service, fearing that any Communist contingents might irresponsibly picket the White House or Congress.

### Pragmatic prayers

Later A. Philip Randolph, long-time anti-Communist, said that "Communists have no genuine interest in the solution of problems of racial discrimination, but only seek to use this issue to strengthen the foreign policy of the Soviet Union." In the end, several top Negro Communists did come to Washington, but they never reached the platform—or pulpit. The Communist issue undeniably kept many Negroes from participating, which is a commentary on America three weeks after McCarthy died.

Quite apart from the Communists, many pilgrims arriving in Washington debated whether they were using their time and money wisely by confining their effort to prayer or whether they should visit Congress and the President.

The California contingent, numbering about 100 persons who came 4,000 miles in two chartered planes, had a midnight caucus on this issue. Some said that the genius of their pilgrimage would be diluted by political activity. One said that when one prays for political results it is political and not prayerful.

A pilgrimage official said that even President Eisenhower was not invited since they had given up both President and Congress and were appealing to a higher, if a non-elected, power!!

When it was suggested that they pray with their Congressmen, it was said that they should pray for their Congressmen rather than with them. In the end this California group decided to limit their action this time in Washington to prayer.

They were, however, very pragmatic and said that if prayers didn't work they would re-examine their strategy.

Early on May 17, thousands of Negroes and some whites from 30 States converged on Washington. Many churches offered hospitality and breakfast, but only two predominantly white churches. By noon 25,000 persons had come to the base of the Lincoln Memorial—America's finest monument. While less than one per cent of the crowd was white, several leading American pacifists were present, including A. J. Muste, a number of regional secretaries of the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), including Russell Johnson, American distributor of Peace News, and a number of well-known journalists. A good cross-section of Negro leadership was present, some participating officially and others just in attendance, including two well-known Negro entertainers, Sammy Davis, Jr., and Harry Belafonte.

### "Third force"

The prayer meeting itself lasted for three and a quarter hours. Thirty persons spoke or sang, including two whites. Since it was a religious meeting, no applause was permitted, but handkerchief waving was allowed.

Lawmakers were not invited, but two Negro Congressmen spoke. Congressman Adam C. Powell from Harlem made the biggest hit when he pointed to the huge statue of Abraham Lincoln at his back and



Leaders of the Prayer Pilgrimage receiving the key to the District of Columbia at ceremonies in the District Building. Left to right: A. Phillip Randolph, of New York City, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People; Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Chairman of the Southern Leaders Conference and leader of the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott; and Robert E. McLaughlin, President of the District Board of Commissioners.

said that "Negroes are getting more today from a dead Republican than from live Democrats or live Republicans."

He called for a "third force" in the area of civil rights in America, non-partisan and non-racial, but led by the clergy.

He said its programme would be "massive unity based on passive resistance," meaning in the South, work stoppage, economic boycott, mass sit-down strikes, slow-downs, and picket lines.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., gave the

★ ON BACK PAGE

## Hidden currents of the colonial sea

By FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

THE colonial scene is like a sea. Sometimes the surface is calm; but underneath currents move and suddenly emerge. Only those who observe wind and temperature can foresee the storms.

In London at the moment there is sunshine and a gentle swell. The Malayan constitutional talks have ended successfully and all is set for independence on August 31. The Nigerian constitutional talks have begun, and the delegates are confident that agreement for independence by 1959 will be reached.

But there are hidden currents promising a choppy sea both in Malaya and Nigeria; and, without warning, signals of a coming storm have been flashed from East Africa, from scarcely-quietened Kenya.

### MALAYA

Malaya is next scheduled for independence: let us look there first.

The present Legislature is roughly half elected, half nominated. It looked, three years ago, as though this plan would break, but at the last moment the Colonial Office agreed that the nominations would reflect the elections, and the powerful Alliance of Malaysians, Chinese and Indians agreed to co-operate. The Alliance is now the Government, with an overwhelming majority.

But a rift has appeared.

Considerable sections of the Chinese and Indian populations feel that they have been betrayed in the new Constitution. The Opposition sent a delegation to London as well as the Government and, although its members did not take part officially in the talks, they saw influential people and they made an impression.

They say that inter-racialism has been betrayed. They complain that there is race discrimination in the basis of citizenship. They object to Islamism being made a State religion, when the majority of the people are not Moslems. They oppose the restriction of official languages to Malayan and English, unknown to the majority. They resent the fact that four in five of the judges and principal administrative officers are to be Malays.

The Constitution as planned will prob-

ably go through in its present form for August, but it is clear that in future Legislatures there will be a powerful Opposition. If the clash of ideas and principles is kept to the political level, this will be all to the good. Progressive democracy can live only by dynamic discussion.

### NIGERIA

Nigeria is next on the schedule for independence. The agreement of the three Premiers from the leftward east region, the middle-way west region, and the right-leaning north that the Federation shall have independence in two years' time makes this historic achievement almost certain. The British Government would have to be unexpectedly obstructive to say "no."

But within the framework of Federal independence there are many problems. Proposals are emerging for new States. It has even been suggested that the three should become twelve! And how soon shall they have internal self-government? The peoples of east and west want it this year; the peoples of the north will be satisfied to have it simultaneously with Federal independence in 1959.

What shall be the franchise? East and west want immediate adult suffrage throughout Nigeria. The north, which has only had direct elections in the towns so far, would go more slowly. It may be that the north will be ready to accept adult suffrage by 1959.

The functions of the Federal and State Government have to be confirmed and the share of revenue decided. To reach agreement the Conference will need the five weeks' discussion which is proposed.

One big issue waits on the edge of Nigeria. What is to be the future of the Cameroons? As in the case of Togoland, on the edge of Ghana, the United Nations foolishly divided an historic nation into French and British zones.

France is planning rapidly to make the Northern Cameroons a part of the French Union. Britain is directing the Southern Cameroons towards federation with Nigeria. Only a plebiscite can finally decide whether the Cameroons shall be united and independent or alternatively linked with the French Union or the Commonwealth, either as a whole or in part.

The day will come when these problems

will be solved by bringing all the territories into a Federation of West Africa.

### KENYA

Finally, a glance at uneasy East Africa and Kenya, still far from the independence which has come to the west. The European settlers and the British Government hoped that the violence of Mau Mau would be followed by a period of racial co-operation, but they have not learned that harmony can be based only on concessions to justice.

For the first time the Africans have been allowed to elect representatives to the Legislature. The franchise was limited and weighted, but even so the African Members are proving courageous and demanding. They represent 6,000,000 people against 150,000 Asians and 45,000 Europeans, and not unreasonably they ask that the African elected representatives shall be equal in number to the elected Asians and Europeans combined. Wisely the Asians agree; the Europeans refuse.

Accompanying this political problem is an economic issue. The Kenya Government is carrying through a policy of land consolidation, which recognises the ownership of an African landed class but leaves thousands of Africans landless. Tom Mboya, the Trade Union leader and also leader of the African group in the Legislature, has suggested that consolidation should be extended to the White Highlands! He evidently has in mind the division of some of the vast European farms for the benefit of the land-hungry Africans.

His speech, in its major political and economic claims, has shocked the Europeans. The Government has reacted by banning certain African political meetings, and insisting on the presence of a police tape-recorder at all African meetings so that there may be a check on what is said.

This is a terrible mistake; it may be a fatal mistake, destroying the hope of a democratic settlement of Kenya's dangerous problems. If public discussion is not permitted to the African population, the door will be closed to constitutional advance.

Will the settlers, will the Kenya Government, will the British Colonial Office never learn?

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## FURTHER DISCUSSION ON COMMANDER KING-HALL'S UNARMED-DEFENCE PROPOSAL

## A nation dedicated to ideals is undefeatable

By REGINALD THOMPSON

I HAVE read Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's "Reflections on Defence" with great interest and hope, and wholeheartedly support his proposals. Non-violent resistance may be the only way out, and the need is urgent in the extreme.

Indeed, I feel that the West, goaded by its fears, is already far down the slippery slope which must lead to disaster for mankind.

In the event of a policy of non-violent resistance to an enemy becoming the policy of this country I would take my oath of loyalty to it. I say this although my position is somewhat difficult in this matter because I cannot bring myself to be certain of an ability to sustain non-violence in myself.

I believe it demands a brand of courage which is rare in the extreme. But this does not mean that I wish to hedge in any way in supporting the proposal for a Royal Commission to examine the whole problem of non-violent resistance to an enemy.

People like myself, feeling violence as almost an integral part of themselves would, if non-violent resistance became our national policy, be in something like the position of pacifists in the world subscribing to violence. Yet our belief in violence would lack the moral sanction of pacifism.

## WEAPONS

Pacifists might well appreciate the difficulties men and women might have in supporting something alien to their natures.

I believe that it is also necessary to define nuclear instruments more clearly.

It is, in my view, wicked and misleading to describe nuclear instruments of genocide, racial suicide and the pollution of the future of mankind, as weapons.

It is also misleading—and one suspects, deliberately so—to consider these hideous devices in relation to war.

It is even absurd to regard them as a means of conquest, unless conquest is to take on the meaning of senseless and useless obliteration of peoples and countries. Such a "conquest" could have no basis in reason.

As for war, it has been always an extension of diplomacy, a last resort in the political field. In this century it has demonstrably failed in its purpose. Nevertheless the problem of defence must be faced in the kind of world we live in.

## BRAVE PEOPLE

I stated seven years ago at the time of the Korean war that it was intolerable for a civilised people to contemplate the use of nuclear weapons, and that any civilised people must reject their use absolutely.

I have held the view for many years that a nation whose people are truly dedicated to their ideals and to their own defence must prove undefeatable.

This faith arose, not only out of life long study of war, but out of my experiences in the Chaco war when I became deeply involved with the Paraguayan people.

This must seem very remote to our own hideous civilisation. But these brave people proved to me that if you are prepared to die, literally to the last man and woman, you will, in fact, live.

Perhaps, in the final count, it is not fundamental that the individual Paraguayans offered violent resistance, even with their hands, in their homes in the war with Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay of 1870. The oldest male left alive was eleven years old, yet from that the nation grew again, and more strongly.

I hope this all seems to the point. My only difficulty in determining on the best way to defend ourselves is that I believe that we may do it by the creation of a kind of "Home Guard," dedicated to the defence of this island.

If nuclear instruments are used against us it matters not what we have or have not. I pray only that if this race is about to die it may die with its conscience clear and clean in this division of mankind.

## TACKLE THE PROBLEM

But, I believe profoundly, that given the resolution and courage and the faith, we can live even in this world, even if most of us are doomed to die in violence or non-violence in order to leave some better hopes for the future.

I have been trying, in the midst of heavy involvement in some rather complex work, to think out my position clearly.

There is a sharp division of opinion in this country between the pro-bomb people and the anti-bomb people. It was manifest also at the time of Suez. Suddenly the friendships of twenty years and more vanished in bitter animosity, the like of which I have never before experienced.

I think it is time that some body of men and women divorced entirely from party politics and of an integrity beyond doubt, tackled the problem in the light of reason, faith and the future.

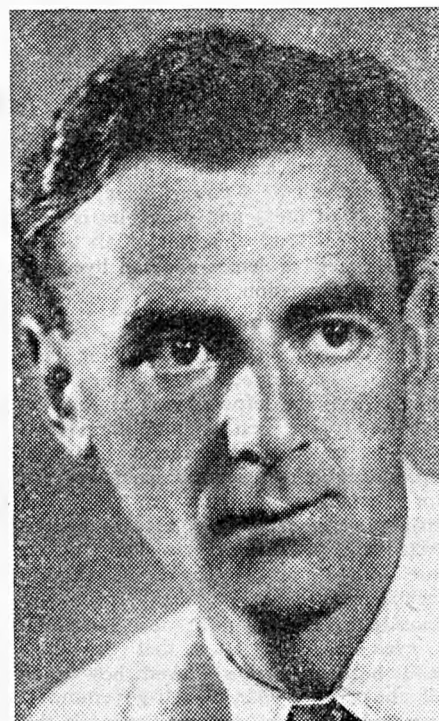


Photo: Macdonald & Co.  
Reginald Thompson

## MORAL DIFFERENCE TO THE EDITOR

LORD ALTRINCHAM (all honour to him for his courageous opposition to the Suez adventure and to racialism in the colonist clubs) thinks that the Russians will stick at nothing where their interests are involved, and that the British will never go to such lengths.

I wonder. After all, EOKA's activities have been on a comparatively modest scale. Suppose Cyprus were to break into armed revolution and attempt to set up an alternative Government. The only alternative for Britain would be full-scale military suppression on the Russian model or evacuation of the island.

Is he sure they would choose the latter? Let us not forget that we are committed to a defence policy based on the threat to drop the H-bomb, which would bring casualties on a scale unparalleled by the worst of the Budapest massacres.

What is the moral difference between this and what the Russians did in Hungary?—D. MARTIN DAKIN, 61 Suttons Lane, Hornchurch, Essex.

Suicide or surrender  
IS THERE ANOTHER WAY?

By Commander Fox-Pitt

I AGREE entirely that nuclear war would be suicide for us. The population of this country cannot be fed without great imports by sea and air. I met Sir Stephen King-Hall during the last war when he was inspecting the defences of naval airfields in Northern Ireland, and I was on my way to attend, as escort commander, a conference of the captains of merchant ships about to sail in convoy for America.

We talked then about the submarine blockades that have twice been the greatest threat of all to Britain in time of war.

In a new war with new weapons, convoys on the surface would not get through. He is right now in telling us that we cannot wage nuclear war or even tactical nuclear conventional war.

But our people will not agree they must submit to foreign armed domination without a fight—some sort of fight, and no Government would dare to suggest it to them. We are not ready yet for the high ideal of absolute non-violence.

Is there another way that lies between suicide by waging war and surrender by defencelessness?

We could develop an organised "maquis" whose known existence would persuade

those who might be our enemies that occupation would be the beginning of a resistance that would disorganise and defeat their armies and deny them any of the advantages of victory.

## HOME DEFENCE

Against nuclear power the only stand possible is that which can be made when the enemy is so closely mixed with the defenders that atomic weapons can not be used.

It is the method of the guerilla, the fighting pattern of the Algerians and the Cypriots. The secretly armed man with an organisation of hide-outs and concentration points, is the basis of this defence.

His leadership must be like that of the Africans of the Union of South Africa, leadership in depth, with a chain of command that allows for the arrest or death of many seniors and the betrayal under torture of several more. It must be an organisation that functions when every individual still alive believes himself to be isolated and alone.

The only wars of recent years in which there has been one side victorious are the colonial wars in which men won liberty against better equipped enemies who dominated by day and in the open and where there was a chance to make a show of force, but lost men whose duties took them beyond the massive power points.

An important part of any home defence plan must be the secret storage of food supplies and ammunition and the increase by every means of home grown food.

Passive or non-violent resistance can be our weapon in our foreign policy but non-violence will not be acceptable to many men and women as the only answer to armed occupation which still remains the necessary seal on military victory.

Resistance at home can be supplementary to a non-violent policy in foreign affairs, and does not deny its value. It is an aspect of the whole question which must be considered by the Commission that Sir Stephen King-Hall wishes to see set up to examine the need for a new approach to the use of armed forces.

## LIBERAL PARTY PETITION

THE Liberal Party petition for the suspension of nuclear bomb tests is shortly to be presented. Will all who have petitions kindly forward them to Lucy Masterman, 77 Overstrand Mansions, London, S.W.11, before June 8.

## DOES BRITAIN NEED HER ARMED FORCES?

Now, when people like Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall are asking for a close examination of non-violent resistance as an alternative to military defence, is the time to be distributing more copies of Peace News.

You can order extra copies of this week's issue at the reduced rate of 2s. 9d. dozen post free, or reprints of the two pages of "Reflections on Defence" (by special permission of Sir Stephen King-Hall), at 15s. per 100, by using the coupon below:

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Retired from Colonial Civil Service 1952 and took part in the opposition to the imposition of Federation on the Africans of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In 1953 he joined the staff of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society.



# The growth of German pacifism

By GENE SHARP

"WHAT is post-war German pacifism like?" was the main question in my mind during my visit to Hamburg. My three days in the city, although filled with discussions with individuals, small groups, pacifist leaders and a public meeting, were far too brief to discover the full answer to that question. But it was possible to learn more than is generally known outside Germany.

Dr. Theodore Michaltschiff, Bulgarian by birth, has since the war probably contributed more work and time than anyone else for the development of war resistance throughout West Germany. He is now General Secretary of Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner (IdK), the German section of the War Resisters' International.

## Vast change

We met in his office in an apartment house on Bornstrasse where he edits the monthly journal of IdK, Friedensrundschau.

"Our movement is growing now day by day," he told me. "We have now about 72 groups."

Illustrative of the growth was Bavaria where two years ago there were only four

war. The old WRI section "left absolutely nothing to build upon."

"Right after the capitulation" Dr. Michaltschiff got in touch with Runhe Brown, the founder of the War Resisters' International. Dr. Michaltschiff knew of no other war resisters in Hamburg. "After a few months we got two or three together and by the end of the year we had about five. Two years later we arranged the first conference."

## After capitulation

He heard about two or three war resisters in Dortmund, one in Munich, another in Berlin, and so it went. "These were the first people to get together . . . and so the movement began."

It took the Hamburg group about five years to have nine members. Some other groups in 1949 had 10 or 15.

Despite these odds, the Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner, together with two or three other organisations, set out to make the idea of conscientious objection popular in Germany. They issued pamphlets and leaflets, and soon held demonstrations and parades. Through such means "we have managed to spread the idea of conscientious objection," Dr. Michaltschiff told me.

The West German Constitution recognises the right of war resistance, he said.

These days socialist newspapers and trade unions help disseminate the ideas of war resistance. The editors of newspapers often provide the addresses of IdK groups to readers who write in asking for them.

There is hardly a town which has an active IdK group which does not also have a consultation group for young men interested in war resistance and the provisions for conscientious objectors. In some cities there are three such centres, and in Munich there are four.

A special place is set aside where the young men can go for advice. It may be a private room, a room of a youth organisation, a trade union, or in a restaurant or guest house.

In addition to at least 40 such centres, there are in most towns also lawyers who give legal advice on conscientious objection to young men who want it. Mostly they are members of IdK, and they volunteer their services.

## Wide publicity

The first war resister to appear before the new commissions (which decide whether an application for CO classification is to be accepted or not) was from Hamburg. He received considerable Press publicity, including a photograph and very sympathetic article on the front page of the largest popular newspaper in Hamburg, with a circulation of about 2,500,000. Other papers carried sympathetic reports.

The following day the second CO appeared before a commission in Munich. Persons experienced in matters of conscientious objection voluntarily appear



Helga Stolle, one of the outstanding younger members of the Hamburg war resisters group

IdK groups, while now there are 33, and "Bavaria is the most difficult part of the country to build groups."

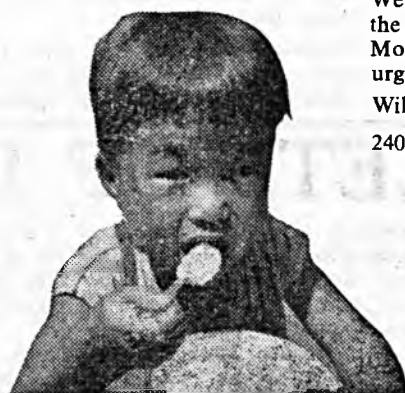
A similar change in the last two or three years, although not to the same extent, had taken place in other parts of the country. "Here in the north it was absolutely impossible to organise a group," he said. Only in Hamburg, Lubeck and Kiel were war resisters organised, "but now we have groups in about a dozen smaller towns."

There are three to four times as many members of IdK as three years ago.

The growth of this section of the War Resisters' International stands in sharp contrast to the situation just after the

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with the young CO as counsel at the commissions.

## Important factors

Most conscientious objectors have chosen to operate within the law, although a few have not. Dr. Michaltschiff knew of one case in the Rhine where a young man absolutely refused to appeal to the commission, despite several efforts by the police to persuade him to do so.

Although there are "quite a lot of young conscientious objectors," Dr. Michaltschiff said the number was not as large as had been predicted. The Minister of Defence reported that 338 young people had applied as COs.

Dr. Michaltschiff said there were several reasons why the number was not as high as had been expected:

"Quite a lot" had been asked to withdraw their applications, being told that their physical defects would exempt them much more easily;

The number of COs is not representative of all the young men as the Government can only conscript up to 10,000 till the end of 1957;

Thirty to forty thousand have simply asked for deferment, many of which may be COs, in light of the Socialists' declaration that they will abolish conscription when they come to power;

COs must do alternative work for 21 months as against 12 months' military duty for conscripts, and uncertain persons may weaken on this point.

Most of IdK members are between 21 and 35 years of age—whereas the age group being conscripted is 20. For example, from a total of 1,000 members in Hamburg, only about 15 are of military age.

Anti-rearmament, memories of the bloodshed of the last war, the division of Germany, and individual revulsion against taking part in any more killing seems to have played an important role in forming the present German pacifism. These factors are likely to continue to have influence.

Among both the leadership and the rank and file there seemed to be an emerging desire for enlarging their understanding of, and ability to apply, their principles in society and in finding other methods of resisting oppression and invasion. These problems were prominent among those raised in conversations and by the audience at the meeting of IdK members.

I came away from Hamburg with a feeling that the next two years will be crucial in determining the direction German



Dr. Theodore Michaltschiff

pacifism will take, and that how this development proceeded would have an important influence on the whole society.

NEXT WEEK: Interviews with two young German war resisters and a member of a commission on conscientious objectors.

## All Pacifists

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### The moral factor

WE must all be grateful for Sir Stephen King-Hall's powerful article and appeal. But he does not discuss the moral argument, and I think for many of us it would be more complete if the following paragraph were added as a partial answer to the provocative question which he asks after (a) and (b) on the first page (last column) of his Reflections, that is: "Are we certain that if the UK has in any event to be devastated in a future nuclear war, that in terms of the future of the human race it is preferable for Russia to be devastated as well, rather than that the Russians shall escape destruction?"

## Letters to the Editor

Let us add here: "And the moral factor cannot be ignored in this extreme case of wholesale killing in war. For if we must in either event ourselves be destroyed in war, is it not far nobler to die without giving our support and co-operation to actions that would certainly spread death and disease among millions of completely innocent Russians and others, and that would possibly or even probably infect with disease most of the rest of mankind, including generations now unborn."

"Christians will recall that their Lord bade them forgive and pray for all, even love their enemies; and such goodwill

spreading from the victims and survivors of a nuclear attack will in the long run have its effects for good among the people of Russia and their rulers. Even now there are millions of simple-minded Christians in Russia ready to respond to the Christian approach."—STEPHEN HOBHOUSE, 20 St. Catherine's, Broxbourne.

### Thanks to Peace News

SOME months ago I decided to recontinue taking Peace News and as before find it full of interest and information and this paper is passed on to local shops, houses, churches, and many other public buildings.

Over 60 years ago I heard from my father the same sound reasoning and arguments against the useless cruelty and idiocy of war. At one time he wrote a book on how he considered the nation could be organised so as to bring health, wealth and contentment to all peoples.

HOW IT CAN BE DONE was read by many thinking people of those days and praised by Robert Blatchford, Keir Hardie, George Lansbury, George Cadbury and many others, but the minds and hearts of the people were then not ready for such ideals. Now at last we are on the move in the right direction and shall not falter again thanks to such a paper as Peace News and its loyal supporters.—M. C. E. RICHARDSON, Upton Lodge, Maldon Rd., Wallington, Surrey.

### Avoids causes

HAVING read Peace News for a few months, I feel that Peace News avoids causes and concentrates on effects. Which is as wasteful of effort as is the creation of false jobs to give full-employment rather than adopt shorter hours and more leisure.—R. STUBBS, 73 Brent Park Rd., Hendon, London, N.W.4.

### Pen Friends

I WOULD like pen friends about 28 years in any country, who write in English.—JOAN PAGDIN (Miss), 239 Rake Lane, New Brighton, Wallasey, England.

## PAMPHLETS OF INTEREST

THIS is rapidly becoming an age of pamphleteers. The decreasing number of periodicals, the increasing cost of producing bound books, and the unwillingness of people to attend meetings, has made the issuing of pamphlets one of the few remaining reasonably cheap and easy ways of disseminating ideas or opinions.

By every post they come in, and it is impossible for a weekly newspaper of this size even to mention all those that are likely to be of interest to readers. Only very occasionally can one be given the more extensive review that many of them deserve.

The current disarmament talks have aroused surprisingly little general interest. It seems to be assumed that after speech and counter-speech by the various delegates the discussions will end in nothing being agreed. The Soviet proposals are set out in *Peace and Disarmament* (Soviet News, 3d.) which contains the speeches made by Mr. Kuznetsov at the United Nations, Mr. Shepilov's report to the Supreme Soviet and various documents on the proposals.

In *Disarmament—The Way Ahead* (Fabian Society, 2s.), Hugh Thomas, formerly of the British Foreign Office, and a member of the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations Disarmament Sub-committee in 1955 and 1956, discusses previous attempts at agreement and makes new proposals for a comprehensive settlement.

Africa continues to claim much attention. *Political Change in African Society* (Africa Bureau, 1s. 6d.) is a study in the development of representative government in the tribal areas of the continent, delivered in 1956 as the annual anniversary address of the Bureau by Tshekedi Khama. From the same publisher comes also *Sport, the Arts and the Colour Bar in South Africa* (2s. 6d.) with a foreword by Father Trevor Huddleston.

Africa and its economic problems feature largely in other pamphlets, too. *The United Nations and the World's Needs* (Regency Press, 5s.) is by John Ferguson, until recently so active in the pacifist movement in this country and now Professor at the University College at Ibadan, in Nigeria. As all who know him would expect it deals with a difficult subject most readably, and shows that rarest of qualities, an informed compassion. The six chapters are on Peace (first, of course!), Food, Health, Refugees, Human Rights and the work of UNESCO.

*Problems of World Poverty*, a study outline by J. C. Gray (War on Want, 2s. 6d.), first published in 1945, is now available in a third edition. *Bulk Purchase and the Colonies* (Fabian Colonial Bureau, 2s.) is by T. F. Betts who was for 23 years a member of the Colonial Forest Service in Nigeria. It explains and studies the effect of Labour's bulk purchase policy on the economies of West Africa and the West Indies, where stability is so desperately needed to improve the living standards of the people.

The 1957 Alex Wood Memorial Lecture was delivered by Dr. H. H. Farmer, at the Friends Meeting House, Birmingham, in February. It is now published under the title *The Christian Person and Morality* (Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1s. 6d.). Its purpose is to make some exploration of the distinctively Christian approach and con-

tribution to moral questions of a distinctively Christian person, such as Alex Wood was, and it starts as all who knew him would agree was right, with his distinctive contribution as a pacifist.

*The Quaker Testimony for Peace*, by Philip and Mavis Seed (Friends Home Service Committee, 6d.), is a brief statement of the Society's peace testimony as part of a total Christian witness. From the same Committee come the first in a series of study papers.

*Through Fellowship to Action* (1s. 6d.), which contains five essays by European Quakers on present day aspects of their faith, and the need for its fellowship to

inspire action. The introduction is by Harold Loukes, the author of "Friends Face Reality."

On recent military actions a number of books are appearing and securing wide circulation. Individually they are often interesting, but the description of events is always vivid rather than rich, and the pattern and interpretation usually superficial. The personal records that will appear in pamphlets may, in fact, give a better idea of the real meaning of the struggles. On one of them *What Really Happened in Hungary*, by Basil Davidson, who went to Budapest last October (UDC, 1s.), is well worth reading.

### Greatest Methodist since Wesley

FRED MOORHOUSE reviews *John Scott Lidgett*, Edited by Rupert E. Davies. Epworth Press, 21s.

THIS is not a biography of the man who has been described as "the greatest Methodist since John Wesley." It is a symposium of essays devoted to the many aspects of his work which stretched over three-quarters of a century and, Mr. Davies holds, must have brought him "as near ubiquity as anyone else in history."

John Scott Lidgett was twice a Methodist conference president, a theologian, a pioneering social worker renowned for his Bermondsey Settlement, Vice-Chancellor of

### Six years in "New China"

LEONARD TOMKINSON reviews

*Assignment in China*, by Julian Schuman. Whittier Books Inc. 54s.

THE stock market reacted decisively yesterday to President Eisenhower's message asking Congress for permission to fight in defence of Formosa. Industries that would benefit directly from increased military spending recorded notable gains. Aircraft issues in particular shot ahead. Steels, metals, machines and machine tools moved up. Other segments of the market, however, had a generally dull day.

This quotation from a January 1955 issue of the New York Times is in the last chapter of this book. Most of the volume, however, is taken up with recording what the author observed during six years in China, the greater part of this time under the present regime. He has some knowledge of both spoken and written Chinese and so has distinct advantages over many of the writers, sometimes quite without such knowledge, of books on the New China, often the result of a few weeks' visit.

During the earlier years covered the reviewer used occasionally to meet the author at the Friends Service Unit Hostel in Shanghai, and the book seems to be an honest enough record of what Julian Schuman observed. That is not to claim for it complete impartiality and objectivity.

He is certainly emotionally engaged on the side of the present regime. Some of his exposures of the methods which have often been used for gathering and purveying in America "news" concerning China are very effective, but has the author (with the opposite bias) himself succeeded completely in avoiding similar pitfalls in his own selection?

Perhaps such writers would do well to realise, if they wish to convince their readers entirely, that some of them (without being committed to complete anarchism) cannot avoid being a little sceptical as to completely faultless regimes. But it is fair to say that Julian Schuman has avoided in his picture the most roseate hues of some earlier books.

This book was published in 1956 and the observations recorded are of a still earlier date. Nevertheless those who are trying to get as complete a view as possible of post-"Liberation" China would do well to add this book to their collection.

## BOOKS

London University, a founder and statesman of the ecumenical movement, and a London County Councillor. As one who knew little about him before reading this book I am glad that it has come into my hands. Each essay is lucidly written and introduces the reader to a truly great man.

Lidgett was not a pacifist, but many will feel that his social pioneering and championing of the teachings and ideas of F. D. Maurice, surely the most saintly of nineteenth century Anglican Christian socialists, tilled the soil in which the Methodist Peace Fellowship has taken root.

His theological assertion that God is better portrayed as Father than King has obvious implications for the Christian facing war; and I for one feel that there is but a single conclusion to be drawn from his belief that "faithfulness to the fellowship of love within the Holy Trinity, faithfulness to the end of love in the relationship between God and creation, and, in both, faithfulness to the spiritual nature, which is love, is the meaning of the righteousness and goodness of God."

This is the antithesis of the traditional anti-pacifist view that love must follow the law, and that a loving life can only operate within a framework of law and order of which justice is the hallmark (e.g. Temple and Niebuhr). Lidgett's view seemingly asserts that it is only in so far as men love, and love becomes operative, that righteousness of the Divine kind emerges or has any meaning—which is broadly what pacifists hold.

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# DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Saturday, June 1

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 3 p.m.-5.30 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Square, "The Work of Unesco and the Teaching of History." W. E. Payne, M.A. Tea 4 p.m. 6d. Education Commission, PPU, Sec., Jane Burgess, 9 West Street, Hertford, Herts.

**HARROW:** 2.30 p.m.; Poster Parade. Assemble Fairholme Road (nr. Car Park) off Station Road, Harrow. 3.45 p.m., Open-air Meeting opposite Fairholme Road. Speakers: Stuart Morris, Sybil Morrison. 5 p.m., Buffet tea, Friends Meeting House, 456 Rayners Lane, nr. Rayners Lane Station. 6.30 p.m., Any Questions—Friends Meeting House. Panel—Kathleen Lonsdale, Stuart Morris, Owen Taylor, Rev. Owen Butler. Question Master—Sybil Morrison. Trains to Harrow, Metropolitan Line, or Harrow and Wealdstone, Bakerloo.

Sunday, June 2

**WALTHAMSTOW:** 6.30 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Greenleaf Road. "The Danger from Test Explosions." Dr. Glyn Phillips, University of Wales, Chairman: Ald. Redhead, MP, JP. The first showing in the district of "The Shadow of Hiroshima."

Monday, June 3

**HOUNSLOW:** 8 p.m.; Town Hall. H-bomb protest and film. Dr. Burhop and others. Hounslow Friends.

Wednesday, June 5

**ALFRETON, Derbyshire:** 7.15 p.m.; Nottingham Road Methodist Schoolroom. Meeting in protest of H-bomb tests. Speaker, Pennant G. Phillips. Chair: Gerald Styles, BA (Derby), and Film: "Shadow of Hiroshima."

**BIRMINGHAM:** 7.15 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Bull Street. Discussion on Kathleen Lonsdale's book "Is Peace Possible?" PPU, WMA.

**BRISTOL:** 7 p.m. Hermes (UPW) Room, 26 Broad St., "Economic Consequences of Unilateral Disarmament—Prof. H. D. Dickinson. Discussion, PPU."

Thursday, June 6

**LONDON, N.W.1:** 7.30 p.m.; Friends House, Euston Road. Peace News Twenty-first Birthday Celebrations. Humphrey S. Moore (founding editor), Vera Brittain, Donald Soper, Michael Tippett, Bernard Boothroyd, Sybil Morrison, J. Allen Skinner, Hugh Brock and many others. Music by Frank Merrick, Eric Rees. Refreshments, 6.30-7.30 p.m., in Friends House Restaurant.

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Bush Road. Speaker, Leslie Strudwick, "Breaking the Vicious Circle." E.10 and E.11 Group, PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** PYAG meeting at Dick Sheppard House cancelled. All members and friends are invited to the Peace News Twenty-first Birthday celebrations at Friends House, Euston Road, at 7.30 p.m.

Saturday, June 8

**EPSOM:** 7 p.m. Film, "Shadow of Hiroshima." 7.30 p.m. Speeches by John Loverseed, AFC, and C. D. Legon, BA. Questions. Discussion. Proposal of resolution of protest against nuclear warfare and A-bomb tests. 9 p.m. Film, "Shadow of Hiroshima." Myers Hall (behind Ebbisham Hall), Ashley Rd, Epsom and District Peace Fellowship, Secretary: Ailsa Duncan, 55 Culverhay, Ashted, Surrey.

Wednesday, June 12

**LONDON, S.W.4:** 8 p.m.; Labour Party HQ Clapham Common (27 Clapham Park Road). Stuart Morris, "The Purpose of the PPU." Clapham and District Group.

Friday, June 14

**LONDON, BOWES PARK, N.13:** 8 p.m.; Bowes Park Methodist Church, Bowes Road, N.13. Arlo Tatum, Secretary of War Resisters' International, "International Peacemaking." Methodist Peace Fellowship.

Monday, June 17

**NORTHLEET:** 8 p.m.; The Manse, Dene Holm Road. Gravesend FOR Meeting.

Thursday, June 20

**ASH VALE:** 7.30 p.m.; "Longhope." Hutton Road. Mr. Goldsmith on "Why I am not a Pacifist." Alton PPU Group Meeting.

Saturday, July 13

**ALTON:** 3 p.m.; "Hill crest." Windmill Hill. Southern Area PPU Committee Meeting.

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## Dr. Schweitzer's H-bomb test appeal

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Bryan Reed interviewed by Mavis James tells readers

## HOW TO HELP THE YOUNG C.O.

I asked Bryan Reed to comment on his CO standing before a Local Tribunal. I felt that he would, therefore, have the first few months in office as Secretary of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors. A newcomer to this type of work, he had only previously known Conscientious Objection from the angle of a concern.

"THE problems of the CBCO today are different from those of war-time," stated Bryan Reed, "and many pacifists do not fully appreciate this."

"There are two main factors. Firstly, the youth of the CO; often he is only just 18. Secondly, there are so few on the active list."

"The youthfulness of the CO makes the need for sympathy and support all the stronger. The shyness or independence of adolescence needs increased outreach from those who agree with him."

"He is still in the front-line of pacifist testimony, yet too often in the background of pacifists' thought."

"Just because there are so few actively engaged as COs he has little chance of sharing his problems with those similarly placed. Yet his very youth means he needs more opportunities to think and talk his position out than his older, war-time counterpart."

### Help and support

"This is plainly seen at every Tribunal. 'He needs to know more about the subject,' or, 'He should discuss the matter...' has been heard at Fulham Tribunal, for instance, so many times that the very walls seem to ring with these phrases."

"There is a great need, therefore, to bring the CO into the pacifist movement or at least to bring him into contact with other young COs, and with older ones, too, who can give him advice, help and support."

"And at an early age!" emphasised Bryan Reed.

## The churches and international affairs

THREE ways in which the churches could work to create and maintain an international climate favourable for reconciliation and goodwill were put before a public meeting held during the Annual Assembly of the Congregational Union of England and Wales in London recently, by the Rev. Robert Mackie, MA, DD, Chairman of the International Department of the British Council of Churches.

They were:

1. By strengthening the United Nations;
2. By altering the attitude of the West to Asia and Africa; and
3. Responding to the needs of the individual man and woman.

Earlier in his address he had warned against the very real danger of increasing men's hopelessness when helping them to face the seriousness of the present international situation.

We had been accustomed to talk about peace with justice, differing in our methods and in the price we are prepared to pay for justice or peace—but in our particular generation, certain new and malign factors had come into our calculations and upset them.

"It does not seem to be only justice at stake, but existence itself," he said.

"Apparently we are in danger of being starved out of existence or annihilated. There are two dangers, not one. People who know are showing us the steadily increasing population of the world—in China, Japan, India—and are alarmed at the increase and wonder how the people are to be fed."

### PAGAN HYPOTHESIS

Just when this problem was becoming most acute it suddenly became possible to destroy all mankind. "It seems to be possible to undo creation."

Referring to Sir Winston Churchill's remark, "If God should ever weary of mankind," made in the course of a great debate on atomic matters in the House some years ago, Dr. Mackie said this was a

I asked if this job wasn't already done by the CBCO Local Advisors.

"Some of this can be done by Local Advisors," he agreed, "but in the end it is up to the pacifist organisations to find the CO even before he registers, and to give their help to him then. The CBCO knows about him only when he asks us for help, or goes before a Tribunal."

### Pacifist groups

This is an old problem. His predecessor wrangled with it. A great many pacifists have lost sleep over it. Yet it remains true, though incredible, that the first that many COs hear of a particular pacifist organisation, religious, political or otherwise, is from the very people who are hearing their cases, the members of the Tribunals.

Bryan Reed says that he does not suggest that pacifists are not doing anything about the matter, but that there is so much to be done that he feels pacifists can never do enough.

"Are pacifist groups in touch with church clubs, social clubs, school societies and so forth," he added. "Do groups make local announcements of the rights to conscientious objection near registration days?"

"Do groups know who their CBCO Local Advisor is?"

This, then is the big problem which CBCO would like to see tackled; this lack of contact with the young CO before he registers, before he faces a Tribunal. It is a problem which the CBCO itself cannot tackle because that is not its function, and it does not engage in propaganda nor is it a pacifist organisation.

Others can tackle it. Will they?

pagan hypothesis. "We know God cannot, does not, and will not weary of mankind, and we have a dynamic hope in Him."

In regard to the untiring efforts required if international reconciliation were to be achieved, Dr. Mackie said the churches were too slow, too peaceful, "like someone sitting in the Riviera, rejoicing."

"Don't think in these terms; we need a bracing climate, in which men are honest and think straight. Without such a climate there is no possibility of disarmament, or ceasing nuclear tests, or of justice in the world of nations."

### RECONCILIATION

"There is no short-cut to peace in the world without moving the wills of men. We want the kind of situation in the world in which men will begin to say: 'Perhaps I am wrong; I must talk with my neighbour. I must learn to co-operate.' What kind of climate do we tend to create in the churches? Sometimes one of irritation, of sentiment, of irrelevance. But our task is not that; it is to create a climate favourable to reconciliation amongst all men."

"We are part of a world community. We have, in these days, a wholly new sense of belonging to the Christian Church throughout the world. The value to us of the World Council of Churches is that it is an instrument which holds us in the family of the churches. But, oddly enough, we have not transferred this to politics." It is the Church's plain duty always to do everything it can to maintain in people's minds the concept of a world community through the United Nations, he said.

May 31, 1957—PEACE NEWS—9

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**WE CAN HELP YOU.** Use these columns to advertise your services, sell your products and seek your needs. Write to the Advertisement Manager, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

**WE INVITE ENQUIRERS** about our work for international friendships. SAE details, "Caravan" (PN), 84 St. Thomas's Rd., London, N.4.

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### SITUATIONS VACANT

**PEACE NEWS OFFICE** IS OPEN up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed. (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish and Cook, stationers), Finsbury Park (near sta.), N.4.

**PEACE NEWS STAFF.** A competent shorthand typist and general office assistant urgently required for the circulation, advertising and business side of Peace News. Adequate wage, three weeks' annual holiday, 1957 holiday arrangements allowed if possible. Please write, The Manager, Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

### SITUATIONS WANTED

**CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR** seeks position that will satisfy one of usual alternative grounds of exemption. Legally qualified. Particularly interested hospital welfare work. Box No. 731.

### HOLIDAYS

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## Every week!

### SATURDAYS

**LIVERPOOL:** 8 p.m.; Pier Head. Open-air meeting of Liverpool and District Peace Board.

### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

**LONDON:** Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

### MONDAYS

**SHIPLEY:** 7.15 p.m.; Shipley Group in new premises in Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

### TUESDAYS

**MANCHESTER:** 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

### WEDNESDAYS

**KIDBROOKE:** 8 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Talks, plays, discussion, music, radio, etc. Fellowship Party.

### THURSDAYS

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. PYAG.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.



## HUDDLESTON REPLIES

● FROM PAGE ONE

war less likely still? And if not, how does he justify drawing the line after Britain?"

Lord Cherwell replied to these and other critics in a letter to The Times on May 28.

After denying the existence of any serious effects from radiation he declared that most people thought possession of the bomb would deter a potential attacker. "At any rate nobody has proposed anything better. Professor Haddow says we ought to look for some other way and the Rev. Trevor Huddleston seems to think we should hope for a miracle.

"Are we really to do nothing in the meantime?"

While the debate continues in the Press, meetings in increasing number are taking place throughout Britain.

Yesterday, Thursday, big public meetings were taking place in Cardiff and Bristol.

This evening, Dr. Sydney Hilton addresses a meeting at Whitstable, Kent, and another public meeting takes place in Leicester.

## ST. PANCRAS MEETING

On Monday there will be a public meeting in the Friends Meeting House at Cambridge, and at Hounslow a meeting and film show in the Town Hall, addressed by George Pargiter, MP, Dr. E. H. Burhop and Professor J. E. Roberts.

On Wednesday, June 5 there will be a meeting with a film at Alfreton, in Derbyshire, and in Colchester the Rev. J. K. Gregory will chair a forum at 7.30 p.m. in the Lion Walk Church Hall on the hydrogen bomb.

In St. Pancras, London, where the Borough Council has closed down its Civil Defence organisation, a Town Meeting is to be held in the Town Hall at 8 p.m. on Tuesday, June 11.

In Oxford a local organisation to oppose tests has been set up following a meeting convened by Professor C. A. Coulson and others.

"The meeting was well attended and the pacifist position put," Margery Jones, of 42, Bowness Avenue, a member of the Committee, told Peace News. Several Councilors attended along with Quakers and representatives of trade unions and the Labour Party. "We collected 45 signatures for the petition organised by the Leeds Peace Pledge Union.

## NEXT WEEK

## Our 21st Birthday Issue

● SYDNEY SILVERMAN, MP, writes about Sir Stephen King-Hall's proposals for an enquiry into unarmed defence.

● MICHAEL SCOTT contributes "some thoughts on the organisation of non-violence."

● TAYA ZINKIN, Indian correspondent for the Manchester Guardian and The Economist, reports for Peace News on the prisons of Goa.

● WILLIAM WORTHY, American reporter and broadcaster who entered China in defiance of the US State Department, writes on "China's Street Committees: The Helping Hand, the Watchful Eye."

## And joining in our celebrations

RICHARD GREGG  
FATHER TREVOR HUDDLESTON  
LAURENCE HOUSMAN  
LORD BOYD ORR  
EMRYS HUGHES, MP  
Dr. MARTIN NIEMOLLER  
CHAKRAYARTI RAJAGOPALACHARI  
REGINALD REYNOLDS  
MICHAEL TIPPETT  
"OWGLASS"  
and others

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By Sybil Morrison

## NO LESSON LEARNED

"The American plan aims at small, measured steps of arms reduction and not at a sweeping disarmament agreement to cover all weapons . . . I am confident that the decisions made by President Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles will lessen the dangers of war . . . and will enhance the prospects for a durable peace."

—Mr. Stassen, USA Advisor on Disarmament, May 26, 1957.

THE history of disarmament conferences is a record of failure from which, it would seem, no lessons have ever been learned.

When the League of Nations first set up a permanent advisory committee on disarmament, which led on to the calling of a full-scale international conference, there were high hopes that this might mean "a durable peace."

The failure to agree then, within the framework of each nation's conception of security, is the same failure now. So long as security is defined in terms of arms, no one nation will ever be the first to abandon what they believe to be security.

Commissions and conferences, exactly as in the past, stumble today over the "inspection" obstacle, and invariably fall down. Since agreements based on military security are no substitute for agreements based on trust, they must always be hedged around with burglar alarms, trip wires, and alleged safety catches. Failure to decide upon the efficacy of these has been, and still is, an impassable barrier.

## US QUAKERS "STOP H-TEST" petition

A PETITION calling on President Eisenhower to "take vigorous steps to effect a ban on the testing of nuclear bombs," has been launched in the USA. Sponsored by Quakers from the New England office of the American Friends Service Committee (PO Box 247, Cambridge 38, Mass.), the petition points out that "the stopping of nuclear tests would go a long way toward halting the spread of the nuclear arms race to other nations. "It would stop the increasing danger from radioactive fall-out. It would be a dramatic moral act which would ease tensions and create the political climate for positive steps to peace."

On the back of the petition forms are quotations from statements by the Pope, Dr. Schweitzer, and the 18 German physicists refusing to manufacture nuclear weapons. Also included is the statement by Dr. Charles C. Price, Chairman of the Federation of American Scientists (December 14, 1956): "The health of hundreds, if not thousands, of human beings has been or will be seriously affected by radioactive materials already liberated."

Americans are urged to obtain copies of the petition from, and return them to, the AFSC at the address given above. The signed petitions will be sent to the President and an announcement of the numbers of signers from each State will be sent to him and to members of Congress, and released to the Press.

## World H-protests

The Prime Ministers of India and Japan last Friday made an "earnest and urgent appeal" to the concerned Powers for immediate suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapon tests. They were convinced that, given goodwill and sincerity, there were no international disputes which could not be settled in a peaceful manner in accordance with the UN Charter and the ten principles of the Bandung resolution.

In Switzerland the Senate of the Society of Natural Sciences has asked for a suspension of tests pending a world conference to assess the dangers.

Pakistani students in London, one hundred of them, have appealed "to our people in Pakistan" to demand an end to tests and "harnessing atomic power for destructive purposes."

The Annual Rally of the North Wales Women's Foreign Missionary Auxiliary of the Presbyterian Church of Wales, a gathering of over 3,000 women in Liverpool, called on the British Government to abolish tests.

It is quite possible that the sheer horror of the consequences of a nuclear weapon war will force upon the Great Powers some measure of agreement to abandon H-bomb tests, and even to abandon their manufacture.

But that is by no means, as so many seem to believe, a first step towards abandoning arms. On the contrary it may be an essential expedient for the purpose of retaining methods of war that will not endanger the whole human race.

The idea of abandoning all armaments is not, and never has been, part of disarmament discussions, and never will be, so long as fear and suspicion lie behind every argument.

Britain, last week, launched a guided missile with the charming name of "Bloodhound"; once upon the track this monster cannot be deviated from its "kill." The fact that any bomber which will fall to the Bloodhound's attack must inevitably explode its bombs seems to be of no importance.

Nevertheless, this island, so we are told, is to have a ring of bases around its coast, from which the "Bloodhound" may be unleashed to hunt the enemy.

On South Uist, the islanders have been persuaded that the great ranges, ready to release weapons of 100 times the speed, velocity and destructive power of the German V.2s are of benefit to them and the "invasion" of 9,000 workmen an asset to their daily lives.

Our shores, in fact, bristle with these modern devices for slaughtering thousands by the pressing of a switch, and it may well be a fact that the danger of war is lessened by the absolute fear of the catastrophic consequences of letting loose the dogs of nuclear war.

This is, however, very different from "a durable peace." Absence of actual fighting is not synonymous with peace, though for those who have lived through two world wars, and existed under the shadow of the menacing black cloud of nuclear experiments, there may seem some reason for thankfulness that the Great Powers still hold off from the ultimate catastrophe.

But the lesson still to be learned is that agreements between nations to abandon, reduce or curtail particular weapons do not lead to abandoning weapons altogether.

Total disarmament is a revolutionary conception, and it cannot be reached through orthodox thought, nor by "small, measured steps." It can only emerge like clear water from a spring; it cannot come from an already sullied stream.

The whole motive of foreign policies must be changed at their source before nations will agree to stand unarmed. It is this lesson that has never been learned; when it is understood and interpreted into practical politics, "a durable peace" will be in sight.

## HAROLD STEELE

Harold Steel reports from Tokio that discussions with peace movement leaders there are continuing. He was unable to reach two Japanese vessels before they sailed for the South Pacific.

## H-bomb race

□ FROM PAGE ONE

perpetually through inhumanity toward destruction.

6 These factors will contribute to the generation of the all-important moral power which, in the midst of a world mad with other types of power, can yet save us.

Father Huddleston has declared that "With the hydrogen bomb the believers in power must either reduce our world to chaos . . . or recognise that power no longer remains of any value if it is confined within 'physical' limits. What is needed . . . is . . . an act of faith which states quite simply that a Christian country must rely upon different weapons all together . . ."

It is time for all of us to realise that while we campaign for the ending of nuclear weapon tests, we must grapple with the fundamental condition which these tests symbolise and make our decision accordingly. If we cannot in conscience drop a hydrogen bomb on mankind, then we must build an alternative of hope and determination.

This is the end of an age. Do we choose hope with enough conviction to do something about it?

## Prayer pilgrimage

★ FROM PAGE FIVE

final speech. He called for aggressive leadership by President and Congress. He asked for new commitment by white Northern liberals. He asked for "strong, courageous, and intelligent leadership from the Negro community." He said that as coloured people in Asia, Africa, and America gain power, they "must not become victimised with a philosophy of 'black supremacy'."

What effect will the prayer pilgrimage have? Participants returned home with some discouragement because the Press minimised the numbers present and the whole story. Yet they returned home buoyant after participating in a great spiritual adventure. It showed the unity of the Negro people and emphasised the new leadership in the Negro community with the church and labour forming a new militant alliance.

It emphasised the need for the NAACP to make a decision whether it will incorporate the Gandhian method of non-violent resistance. It underlined the almost universal dissatisfaction by Negroes of both political parties.

The pilgrimage came only two days after the opening of Billy Graham's pilgrimage in New York City against sin. But why did Graham have to leave his native South and its prime sin of segregation to point the finger at sin in New York City?

The pilgrimage came just the day after 4,500 Africans marched from their shantytown to the Johannesburg City Hall carrying banners reading, "We Are Getting Impatient." American Negroes are getting impatient, too, but most American whites are still trying to deny the fact.

## NEW PPU CHAIRMAN

Sybil Morrison has been elected National Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union.

## H-bomb tests: the Voice of Rome

in June issue of

## PAX BULLETIN

5s. a year from 93, Malmstone Avenue, Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.  
PAX opposes war on Catholic principles

## PEACE NEWS

## Coming of age celebration

On Thursday June 6 Peace News will be 21

You are invited to join our birthday celebration at Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

Refreshments will be available from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m.

## Speakers will include:

HUMPHREY S. MOORE (Founding Editor), VERA BRITAIN, Dr. DONALD SOPER, MICHAEL TIPPETT, SYBIL MORRISON, J. ALLEN SKINNER, HUGH BROCK

## Music by:

FRANK MERRICK (Pianoforte), ERIC REES (Baritone)

RESERVE THE DATE NOW

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